

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 EB-07
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INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL DURBAN IMMEDIATE

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USIA FOR IPS,(BIEU, IAA; DEPT. FOR AF/S

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG'S ARRIVAL REMARKS AT
LONDON AIRPORT, MAY 25TH, 1977

YOUNG: I AM ANDREW YOUNG AND THIS IS BILL MAYNES,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZA-
TIONS AND WE HAVE JUST COMPLETED WHAT WE FEEL TO BE
FOR SURE AN EXHAUSTING TOUR OF AFRICA AND YET IT IS ONE
THAT I THINK - MAYBE BECAUSE WE ARE SO TIRED - WE ARE
ALL PLEASED WITH. WE WOULD BE GLAD TO ANSWER ANY OF
YOUR QUESTIONS ABOUT IT.

QUESTION: MR. YOUNG, DO YOU THINK YOU HAVE SUCCEEDED
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INPERSUADING ANY BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS WHO WERE COMMITTED
TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE THAT THERE IS MAYBE ANOTHER WAY?

YOUNG: YES I DO. I DON'T THINK I SUCCEEDED NOR DID I
TRY, TO DISSUADE THEM FROM THE ARMED STRUGGLE, BUT I DID
TRY TO HELP THEM SEE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE
CONSULTATIONS PROPOSED BY THE FOREIGN OFFICE HERE IN

CONJUNCTION OR WITH THE U.S. WERE CERTAINLY A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE THAT COULD BE AS PRODUCTIVE AND PROBABLY MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN THE ARMED STRUGGLE. BUT I THINK IT IS VERY HARD TO TELL PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN THROUGH WHAT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT LEADERS HAVE BEEN THROUGH, TO GIVE UP ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE. WHAT I ATTEMPTED TO DO WAS TO TRY TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT EVEN AFTER FIGHTING, AT SOME POINT YOU HAVE GOT TO SIT DOWN AND DECIDE WHAT KIND OF A COUNTRY YOU WANT, AND THAT BASICALLY WAS THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION AND NEGOTIATION THAT COULD START NOW AND COULD BE QUITE EFFECTIVE IN OUTTING TOGETHER AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

QUESTION: DID YOU GET ANYWHERE WITH MR. MUGABE, FOR INSTANCE?

YOUNG: YES, I DID.

QUESTION: PERSONALLY, OR POLITICALLY AS WELL?

YOUNG: BOTH. HE WAS PROBABLY THE PERSON I WAS MOST SURPRISED AT, BECAUSE I FOUND HIM VERY TOUGH, BUT VERY REASONABLE. I MEAN HE ASKED HARD QUESTIONS, HE WOULD NOT BE DELUDED OR PERSUADED BY ANY EASY ANSWERS ON MY PART, BUT I THINK THE NET RESULT OF OUR CONVERSATIONS CONVINCED HIM THAT THE COMING TALKS ARE VERY IMPORTANT FOR HIM AND ALL OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT LEADERS TO BE VERY SUPPORTIVE OF.

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QUESTION: DID YOU PERSUADE HIM TO ACCEPT

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION?

YOUNG: I THINK WE DEFINED OUR INTENTIONS AND OUR ROLE IN SUCH A WAY THAT I THINK WAS ACCEPTABLE TO HIM. I THINK ESSENTIALLY IT WAS THE SAME FORMULATION THAT SECRETARY VANCE WORKED OUT WITH MR. NKOMO, HERE, AND WHICH I GATHER DR. OWEN AGREED WITH.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN END, CAN YOU TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THAT?

YOUNG: WHAT DO YOU WANT TO KNOW?

QUESTION: IF YOU FEEL YOU GOT ANYWHERE, IF YOU MADE ANY CONTACTS WHICH COULD BE USEFUL, IF YOU MADE ANY

IMPRESSION ON THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, IN PARTICULAR?

YOUNG: I THINK MY FEELING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA IS THAT
IT IS A PLACE PARALYSED BY FEAR, THAT MUCH OF THE ACTION
OF BLACKS AND WHITES IS GENERATED BY FEAR AND DESPAIR.
/ AND ALL I WANTED TO DO IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS TO GIVE

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PEOPLE SOME HOPE, SOME FEELING THAT THERE WAS CONCERN
OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AFRICA ABOUT THEIR SITUATION, THAT
WE WERE ANXIOUS TO WORK WITH THEM AND THAT THEY DIDN'T
NEED TO GIVE UP AND ACCEPT AN INEVITABLE BLOODBATH
DOWN THE ROAD IN TEN YEARS, OR FIVE YEARS OR HOWEVER
LONG IT MIGHT TAKE. IN TERMS OF POINTING OUT POSSIBILI-
TIES TO THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY THAT ARE REASONABLE TO
THEM, I DON'T THINK THEY BELIEVED ME OR THEY WERE
CONVINCED, BUT I THINK THAT IT GAVE THEM SOMETHING
TO THINK ABOUT. IN TALKING WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY
LEADERSHIP OR STUDENTS I FOUND THE STUDENTS, THE

WHITE STUDENTS PARTICULARLY, VICTIMS OF WHAT MARTIN LUTHER KING USED TO CALL THE "PARALYSIS OF ANALYSIS", AND TRYING TO HELP THEM TO SEE THAT IT IS THEIR COUNTRY, UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT 65 PER CENT OF THEM EVERY YEAR DON'T NEED TO LEAVE, THAT CHANGE WILL COME AND THAT THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF THAT FUTURE. I THINK BLACK COMMUNITY LEADERS JUST NEEDED A LITTLE MORALE BOOST AND I THINK THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT GAVE THAT TO THEM BY THE WAY THEY ATTACKED ME AND MADE SUCH A BIG FUSS OUT OF MY

TRIP. IT MADE IT A TREMENDOUS MEDIA EVENT FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY. SO JUST THE FACT THAT I WAS THERE, WHETHER THEY LIKED WHAT I SAID OR AGREED WITH WHAT I SAID OR EVEN WHETHER THEY HEARD WHAT I SAID, THE VERY FACT THAT I WAS THERE, I THINK, EXPRESSING CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES WAS A TREMENDOUS ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

QUESTION: HOW DO YOU SEE THE TIME SCALE OF THE TRANSFER TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, ZIMBABWE? DO YOU THINK THAT THE BLACKS COULD HAVE AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE NEXT YEAR, THE YEAR AFTER?

YOUNG: I REALLY DON'T KNOW, AND I TRY NOT TO CONCERN MYSELF WITH THOSE KINDS OF QUESTIONS, BUT CONFINE MY EFFORTS TO GETTING A PROCESS GOING AND ONCE THE PROCESS IS GOING THAT PEOPLE BEGIN TO TRUST IN, I THINK THEY CAN WORK OUT THE TIME SCHEDULE THEMSELVES. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT IN PUTTING TOGETHER THESE CONVERSATIONS THAT A PROCESS BE ESTABLISHED THAT PEOPLE CAN LIVE WITH AND WORK WITHIN. I THINK THAT HAS BEEN DONE VERY WELL BY DR. OWEN.

QUESTION: WHAT EXACTLY DO YOU INTEND SAYING TO DR. OWEN OVER THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS?

YOUNG: NOTHING. I INTEND REALLY LISTENING AND GETTING TO KNOW HIM AND SHARING WITH HIM SOME OF THE INSIGHTS THAT WE MAY HAVE PICKED UP THAT HE MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN. BUT I AM NOT SURE. WE MIGHT COMPARE NOTES ON OUR UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPRESSIONS OF VARIOUS PEOPLE. IT IS MUCH MORE A GET-ACQUAINTED KIND OF MEETING AND A KIND OF CONSTANT COMMUNICATION THAT I THINK IS NECESSARY BETWEEN THE U.S.

AND THE U.K.

QUESTION: ARE YOU CONFIDENT IN THE WAY DR. OWEN AND THE BRITISH TEAM HAVE HANDLED THE NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR?

YOUNG: YES, I THINK IT'S GOING PRETTY GOOD. IT IS SOMETHING I AM VERY NERVOUS ABOUT, NOT THEIR HANDLING BUT THE OVERALL THING. IT IS A VERY DIFFICULT JOB AND I THINK YOU CAN'T TAKE ANYTHING FOR GRANTED. I TRY TO THEN I AM PLEASED WHEN THERE IS A SUCCESS. BUT TO EXPECT TOO MUCH AND THEN BE A LITTLE DISILLUSIONED BY A MILD SETBACK I THINK IS A GREAT DANGER. AND SO I THINK WE OUGHT TO BE MUCH MORE AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND THE DANGERS THAT BESET THESE CONVERSATIONS AND BE PLEASED IF THERE IS ANY MINOR BREAKTHROUGH, BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT GOING TO GIVE UP AND THAT THERE CAN BE NO FAILURE. IT IS JUST A MATTER OF HOW MUCH TIME IT TAKES BEFORE THERE IS A BREAKTHROUGH. I THINK THAT IS THE SAME SPIRIT THAT DR. OWEN IS APPROACHING THESE MEETINGS WITH.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LONDON08656
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770187-0004
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770520/aaaaaqyx.tel
Line Count: 249
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ce6b498a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2379563
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG'S ARRIVAL REMARKS AT LONDON AIRPORT, MAY 25TH, 1977 YOUNG: I AM ANDREW YOUNG AND THIS IS BILL MAYNES
TAGS: OVIP, (YOUNG, ANDREW J)
To: STATE USIA
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ce6b498a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009